1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

matter—she will bear her child in the new husband's home and wean it there. The child belongs, however, to the biological father (i.e. the first husband), and must be returned to him as soon as it is weaned. But how will the new husband regard that child? He is bound by tribal custom to treat it during the weaning period with the same care as he would his own, and if he displays ill-nature his new wife will promptly abandon him. If the child by the former husband dies the dead body is sent back to him as proof that it has really died.

A husband, therefore, takes every care to keep his wife contented, and he has studiously to cultivate her parents also. He visits them constantly with gifts, tobacco for the father and salt for the mother (the mother of his wife may not be living with the father of his wife, and he may therefore have to make separate visits to villages perhaps fifty miles apart). The more attractive his wife is, the more presents he must give. There is little question of adultery among the Katab. For no man would think of having sexual relations with the wife of a member of his own local group. The idea would be so repugnant as to be inconceivable. But a clansman of another subdivision may elope with a wife, and when this happens there is no remedy. The first husband cannot claim a refund of the bride-price; he merely hopes that one day his wife will return to him. If he were to demand the return of the bride-price, he would be repudiating his wife for ever; and in any case no Katab would ask for the return of a bride-price for a woman who had lived with him for a year. And so he proceeds to make good his loss by trying to abduct the wife of some other clansman (who does not belong to his own subdivision).

There is no doubt that the custom of sub-marriages plays a predominant part in the social life of a Katab, who may be said to spend the year endeavouring to retain a wife who suits him, or in working out the means by which he can obtain the wife of someone else. If he saves money it is with a view to contracting a sub-marriage, a barren investment if the woman leaves without even becoming enceinte.

Family Life and Occupations.—The Katab are agriculturists pure and simple; they have practically no industries. They farm rather more extensively than most pagan tribes, the average acreage per adult farmer ranging from four to six. A grown-up

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
JABA

up, and as showing also the effect which modern conditions have on the social organization of primitive tribes. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know what regard, if any, missionaries pay to the local laws of exogamy in arranging marriages between converts, inasmuch as intermarriage of persons of the same social group is viewed by the natives as repulsive and incestuous, and people who contract such marriages are regarded as bringing pollution on the entire community.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally. A man may, therefore, marry a woman of his mother's ward; but the usual rule applies that he must avoid marrying any close relative of his mother, e.g. custom would not allow him to marry a maternal cousin for at least three generations. There is an organized system of elopement with married women which is regarded as a legitimate form of marriage, the parents of the woman being usually privy to the elopement, and entitled to receive a bride-price. The first husband (as among the Katab, etc.) has no redress. Wives may not, however, be abducted from men of the same town as the abductor, i.e. a man of Kwoi may not abduct the wife of another man of Kwoi, but he may abduct the wife of a man of the villages of Nok, Sambam, Chori, Kurmin Musa, etc., or of some neighbouring tribe. It is even permissible to abduct a girl who is betrothed to some other man. It was stated that the fiancée could not demand any compensation.

The commission of adultery was regarded as a moral offence entailing trouble not merely on the households of those concerned but also on the entire town. It had to be wiped out by sacrifice. It was customary before war for all the warriors to collect, and if any had committed adultery he had to make a confession. The guilty parties were forced to drink a mixture of beer, excrement (human and canine), certain leaves, and some of a woman's monthly discharge. This was believed to purge the "dirt" of the adultery.

I had no opportunity of making satisfactory investigations on the subject of emblems associated with the social groups. But it appeared that the leopard was specially associated with the Madaki's ward, which is known as "the ward of the leopard". No member of the ward may kill a leopard, but leopards killed by other wards are brought to them and eaten ceremonially (by the members of Madaki's ward). Thus if members of the

843 with a new husband, to demonstrate to her father (or guardian) that she was not pregnant, according to Kagoro tradition.

584 587 In general, secondary marriage with formal betrothal is negotiated with the utmost discretion, so that ideally the primary (or current, about-to-be-displaced secondary) husband is presented with a *fait accompli* when his wife takes up residence with a new husband. In practice, however, the husband often knows all too well the true situation, but he is enjoined to suppress any show of jealousy or anger, and instead to treat his rival with the utmost sympathy and respect. It must be stressed that a second marriage does not dissolve the first, and that a wife may return to prior husbands without particular formality.

583 587 Secondary marriage by capture appears to have occurred at least as often without the woman's consent as with: the village of the woman's prior husband usually responded with an attack on the village of the offender, but such a measure was likely to be more or less ineffective if the two villages were separated by one or more other villages, who might be inclined to discourage hostilities, and in the end the affair might be settled by the abductor legitimizing the marriage by payments to the girl's parents; when a wife was captured from a neighbouring village feuding might continue until the wife returned—or was returned—to her own parental compound or to her prior husband's village. Indeed, it appears that wives were taken in this way more frequently from Ataka and Kaje, among neighbouring tribes who were in turn the major offenders against Kagoro, in this respect: it will be recalled that Kagoro took heads in these tribes. However, it appears that it was practised frequently enough among the ancestors of the groups which compose the present-day Kagoro community to have left its mark on the social structure: Smith conjectures that something like a "normal" *niendi* relationship between clans became in some cases *nendwang*, when one clan took by force a wife from the other.

586 587 As indicated already, marriage cannot be dissolved by any traditional means. Even should a woman's husband die, he is succeeded automatically by a kinsman, though she may choose his successor from among his eligible relatives, and, in fact, she may take up—or resume—residence with another husband when she has spent a "reasonable" period with her inheritor.

586 There have been changes in traditional procedures since Administration. Within the past generation, divorce has been enforced and, accordingly, secondary marriage—"serial polyandry", that is—has been forbidden. In an effort to reduce paternity disputes, the Moslem custom (*iddat*, *idda*, etc.) requiring a divorced woman to return to her parents for a period of celibacy lasting three months before consummating a new marriage has been introduced by Administration to replace indigenous practice described. It would appear that in those cases where the secondary suitor can afford to pay the fines, traditional procedures may be followed still; in other cases it seems that Kagoro are indifferent to the European definition of divorce, even when they adhere to the letter of the law.

835 727 587 Kagoro claim that incest between close biological kin is unheard of, though terrible to contemplate. They say also that incest between affines (a man and his brother's wife) was unknown before Administration. Before the advent of the British, a man captured by outsiders was, in effect, declared legally dead, and none, apparently had ever been known to return from captivity; the problem has now arisen of how to provide for the wives of men imprisoned for limited periods for offences against the Administration. The Kagoro solution has been, when the man's sentence is a considerable one, to permit the customary "inheritance" of his wives by his "heirs", all concerned submitting to ritual purification on his release from prison.

837 684 According to Smith, adultery could occur only with a man from another clan, presumably a *niendi* clan, though he fails to specify, since a member of a *nendwang* clan would be able to contract a secondary marriage, if attracted to a woman. Inter-clan adultery, where not witnessed, is said to be usually confessed by the

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

837 684

woman in the stress of childbirth. A traditional fine of one goat was—and presumably still is—paid by the offender to the *niewhop* of the woman's husband's clan; it is said that the offender often emigrated, presumably as a result of ritualized public ridicule.

Burial

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According to Tremearne, death is traditionally ascribed to "the evil wishes of some person." When a death occurs, women related to the deceased gather and wail through the remainder of the day, and horns may be sounded, while people—not precisely identified by Tremearne—collect, often coming from neighbouring villages. The corpse is wrapped in a mat for interment, normally in a fresh grave: women and children remain indoors[**] during the proceedings. A fowl or goat may be sacrificed, the spilling of blood being apparently part of the rites, and eaten by the (male?) kin. The decanter-type grave is located, according to Temple, close to the porch of the house if the deceased had children, or outside under the shelter of the wall. Seven days later, adult males (presumably of the lineage or clan) gather for three days of drinking and feasting, drumming and horn-blowing, after which men of the deceased's household shave their heads, and the widows (normally clean shaven) let their hair grow for a month and remove the *oyam* until remarriage. Between the day of burial and the final feast, the hoes used to dig the grave are left out of doors.[**]

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Under some circumstances, apparently, ancestral skulls were exhumed and preserved, but the more significant details of Kagoro practice in this connection are precisely those which are lacking in all accounts.

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Temple's account of beliefs in an after-life held by Kagoro contains contradictory features which it is impossible to reconcile on the basis of available evidence. According to Temple, the Kagoro believe that there is a stream dividing life from death, beyond which the spirits of the dead reside; here, primary mates are united, with their unmarried children. On the other hand, they believe that all souls survive and become ghosts, but that they may be reborn in the body of a descendant, and live once more as ordinary mortals. The "ghosts" must be constantly propitiated with food and drink, for neglect would be followed by punishment. They are regularly consulted, particularly about war and hunting, by the elders, who spend three days in the sacred grove.

The second account is presumably based on Tremearne. Smith, investigating some 40 years later, states that "Kagoro males say that there is no survival after death, though reincarnation sometimes occurs".[**]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

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Kagoro beliefs and practices appear to conform generally to the Katab pattern already described, though detail comparable to that supplied by Meek for Katab (or by Reynolds for Kaje, described below, pp. 115–16) are in great part lacking.

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According to Tremearne, the supreme god is called Gwaza (as among Katab proper and various other members of the Katab Group already described), "a beneficent spirit who helps them against the ghosts of their dead ancestors." Gwaza is popularly invoked at each new moon to bring health and good luck, and also, according to Temple, in time of drought, for rain. Smith, though he appears to concede a belief in a supreme god (Gwaza), implies strongly that such belief does not enter into the annual cycle of rituals.

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Regarding the spirits of the dead, Smith states flatly that "no cult of ancestor worship was developed" by Kagoro, "since Kagoro males say that there is no

[**] Cf. information on *obwai* under *Initiation*, above, and *Religious Beliefs*, below.

[**] It is not always clear whether Tremearne is describing Kagoro or Kaje practices (or both). It is to be presumed that Tremearne (as Temple) is describing the burial of an adult male.

[**] The circumstances and implications of this statement are discussed below, under *Religious Beliefs*.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

and return to the *gado's* compound, where their mothers anoint them with mahogany oil, and the boys join in a dance with their elders. Then they enter the *abwai* hut as members for the first time, and sleep there for seven nights, when the *gado* may give them various tasks to perform. After this the younger members of the cult act as messengers for the elder members and must do most of the work in building a new hut when required.

Marriage

The types of marriage noted among Kagoro are found also among Kaje. Only the traditional procedure for engagement in certain cases appears to vary significantly. In past times a man could contract a special relationship with an unborn child by a kind of vow made to the child's father: he would declare that if a girl were born, he desired her as his (or a son's) wife,[118] and that if a boy were born he would treat him as a son. To-day arrangements for a girl's marriage will not begin until she is perhaps eight years of age. Small gifts are made by the suitor to the girl's parents and to the girl over a period of years. When the first marriage-payment is made (through collateral relatives related by marriage to both parties), the two parties begin to use the terms husband and wife, and the husband becomes subject to farm labour for his wife's parents: each must also now participate in the lineage rituals of the other; until final payments are made, however, the girl will not spend more than a few days at a time in her husband's compound. The final instalment is, in effect, the signal for the bride's "capture": friends of the husband "abduct" her, hold her for three nights, and then release her to her husband, with whom she then takes up permanent residence.

Premarital relations between young people are, according to Reynolds, not so circumspect as those described by Meek among Katab, and a girl may be having intercourse with a number of lovers at the time of her marriage. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, she will promptly take up residence with her husband, so that her child will not be born in her father's compound; her husband will thus become the legal father of her child, whatever the biological facts may be.

Secondary marriage proceeds much as among Kagoro. *Iddat*, introduced by Administration, seems only to have slowed down the whole process, thereby tending to reduce litigation over parentage. Marriage-payments are refunded only if no children have been born, and then only on application by the deserted husband, which suggests that in fact annulment only obtains among Kaje, and not divorce. Presumably, however, *iddat* must be submitted to by a woman who wishes to return to an earlier husband. To some extent the discipline of *iddat* may have had the effect of weakening the *abwai* cult.

Reynolds states that a man anxious to hold a childless wife may, with her consent, provide a genitor, who cohabits with her in her husband's compound. Relationship between husband and genitor is not specified by Reynolds: choosing a genitor from another village or tribal section than the husband's might lead to an unwelcome secondary marriage; on the other hand, Reynolds elsewhere notes that intercourse between a man's wife and his brother, real or classificatory, requires ritual purification as a heinous offence.

Death and Burial

Death is believed to be a result of witchcraft,[119] offence against the supernatural, or of accident (which may be a variant of the second). In general, a person dying from a cause which is not apparent to Kaje is judged to be the victim of a witch who

[118] Cf. Jaba, p. 119, below.

[119] The *gado abwai* is apparently the only individual able to inflict death by sorcery (magic) as opposed to witchcraft; but informants insist that no *gado abwai* has resorted to sorcery since the advent of the British.